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MONDAY, December 5, 1921

WHOLE NO. 404

PUBLICATIONS OF THE AMERICAN CLASSICAL LEAGUE.

The following additions have been made to the list of publications.

The Classics for America, by Calvin Coolidge, Vice-President of the United States. An address delivered July, 1921, in Philadelphia, before the American Classical League. This compact and powerful statement puts the case for classical education on the highest moral and patriotic grounds. It should be read by every American who cares for education. Single copy, 5 cents, 25 copies for \$1.00, 100 copies for \$3.00, 500 copies for \$10.00.

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THE ROMAN SCHOOL TEACHER AND HIS REWARD¹

It is not within the scope of this paper to describe the Roman educational system, but merely to set forth a few facts gleaned from the Latin authors concerning the reward, material and other, which the Roman teacher might expect. May I, however, remind you that the Roman Schools were divided into two classes, the School of Grammar, corresponding to our Elementary Schools, and the School of Rhetoric, roughly comparable with our High Schools, or possibly our Colleges? In the Grammar School the pupil devoted his attention to the reading and the interpretation of the poets. The School of Rhetoric prepared young men for political life, and had the art of public speaking for its province. It is in the technical Latin sense that I employ the terms *grammar* and *grammarian*, *rhetoric* and *rhetorician*.

Suetonius Tranquillus, who is best known to us by his *Biographies of the Twelve Caesars*, wrote a book *De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus*, dealing with the lives of famous Roman teachers of grammar and rhetoric, thereby paying a tribute to the profession to which he himself seems to have belonged at one time. About the middle of the fifteenth century, when Italian scholars were devoting their efforts with an almost religious fervor to the resurrection of the yet surviving literary monuments of classical antiquity, a manuscript containing this little work of Suetonius along with the minor works of Tacitus was brought to Rome from the German monastery of Hersfeld. The manuscript itself perished long ago, but fortunately not until at least two transcripts had been made from it. Pietro Candido Decembrio, a papal secretary, was one of the first to read these works after their burial in the oblivion of over a thousand years, and has left us some important observations on the Hersfeld manuscript². Here is the impression which Suetonius's little book on the grammarians and the rhetoricians made upon him: *Videtur in illo opere Suetonius innuere omnes fere rhetores et grammaticae professores desperatis fortunis finivisse vitam*.

While a perusal of the *De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus* of Suetonius shows that Decembrio was scarcely justified in saying that nearly all School teachers died in misery, yet the examples are numerous and striking enough to cause small wonder that he received this impression. Let us glance down over the list.

Oppius Chares taught in Cisalpine Gaul unto extreme old age, even when he was blind and could no longer walk. Doubtless he was forced to do this because of his dire poverty. Sevius Nicanor, the first Roman teacher of grammar to attain distinction, was forced because of some disgrace to go into exile in Sardinia and there spend his declining years. Aurelius Opillus closed his School to follow his patron, Rutilius Rufus, into exile at Smyrna. Marcus Pompius Andronicus, finding himself held in less esteem not only than his distinguished rival, Antonius Gnipho, but than even others of inferior merit, withdrew to Cumae, where, as Suetonius tells us, he had plenty of time to write a great number of books, but was so needy and poverty-stricken that he was forced to sell for about six hundred and forty dollars the copyright to his splendid little work entitled *A Refutation of the Annals of Ennius*. Orbilius, whose name has been made immortal by the epithet *plagosus*, 'the flogger', applied to him by his gifted pupil, Horace, after teaching for a long time in his native town of Beneventum, came to Rome in his fiftieth year, and, as Suetonius succinctly remarks, *docuit maiore fama quam emolumento*.

In his extreme old age he wrote a book in which he complained of his poverty and said that he lived up under the tiles in a garret. Valerius Cato lived to be very old, but only to experience the most abject poverty, being forced to sell his Tusculan villa to his creditors. The wonder is, of course, that a School teacher could have owned a Tusculan villa in the first place.

Gaius Julius Hyginus, one time curator of the Palatine Library, passed his declining years in extreme poverty, and was compelled to depend upon the bounty of his friend, Clodius Licinus. Albucius Silus, a noted teacher of rhetoric and pleader in the law-courts, suffering from ill-health, and, burning with wrath that the right of free speech had died with the Roman Republic, withdrew to his native town of Novaria, and, after calling an assembly of his townsmen to tell them the reasons why he had resolved to die, proceeded to end his life by starvation. Marcus Porcius Latro committed suicide in weariness of continually recurring attacks of the ague.

'Many a teacher', says Juvenal (7.203 ff.), 'has had occasion to rue the barrenness of the professorial chair, as the deaths of Lysimachus and Secundus Carrinas prove'. If we believe the comment of the scholiast upon the passage, Lysimachus and Carrinas were teachers of rhetoric who committed suicide because of their poverty, the former by hanging, the latter by taking poison.

¹This paper was read before a joint session of The Classics Section of the Teachers of Secondary Schools affiliated with the University of Cincinnati and The Classical Club of Cincinnati, February 26, 1921.

²Published by R. Sabbadini, *Rivista di Filologia*, 29 (1901), 262 ff.

Juvenal (7.150 ff.) pictures the teacher as being forced to dun his pupils for the money due him, and receiving this insolent reply: 'What! do you ask for pay? Well, what do I know?'. For, of course, continues Juvenal, the blame is upon the teacher if there is nothing beating on the left side <or, as we should probably say, if there is 'nobody home in the upper storey'> of the stolid youth.

Juvenal continues thus:

'If the teacher of rhetoric takes my advice, he will say farewell to his profession and enter upon a different walk of life, this teacher who is forced to abandon the fictitious cases of the school of declamation and descend from the shade of academic seclusion into the forum to try a real lawsuit for the recovery of the payments due from his pupils, that he may have the money with which to buy a measly little bread ticket. Just investigate how much Chrysogonus, the teacher of singing, and Pollio, the lyre player, get for their lessons, and you will tear into shreds your Elements of Rhetoric. A man must have private baths worth twenty-five thousand dollars, and a hippodrome costing even more in which to go driving when it rains. Then he will have a dining-room with its roof supported by columns of Numidian marble, built on the south side of his house to catch the rays of the winter's sun. However expensive his house may be, he will still have money enough for butlers and for cooks. Among all these expenses, eighty dollars a year at the utmost will be enough for the man who teaches his son rhetoric. Rest assured that nothing will cost a father less than the education of his boy'.

Do not these words of the Roman satirist call to mind the biting sarcasm of the veteran English School teacher, Roger Ascham?

And it is pitie, that commonlie, more care is had, yea and that emonge verie wise men, to finde out rather a cunnyng man for their horse than a cunnyng man for their children. They say nay in worde, but they do so in deede. For, to the one, they will gladlie give a stipend of 200 Crounes by yeare, and lothe to offer the other 200 shillings. God, that sitteth in heaven, laugheth their choice to skorne, and rewardeth their liberalitie as it should: for he suffereth them to have tame and well bred horse, but wilde and unfortunate children: and therefore in the ende they find more pleasure in their horse, than comforte in their children.

Juvenal declares further that, wretched as is the pay of the teacher of rhetoric, the teacher of grammar receives even less. He does not even get all that the father sends him, for he is forced to divide the sum with the steward, and with the pedagogue who accompanies the boy to and from School. The teacher may just as well make up his mind to allow the original sum to be diminished or he will lose it all. Even then he will seldom receive his pay unless he goes into court for it.

Naturally we must use considerable reserve in accepting Juvenal's portrayal of conditions, and must make due allowance for the satirist's license of painting only with the boldest strokes and with the most glaring colors. Nevertheless, the picture he presents must at least have portrayed an exaggerated form of the re and I am quite unable to accept the optimistic view of the opulence of Roman teachers set forth by

M. Jullien in his learned discussion, *Les Professeurs de Littérature dans l'Ancien Rome*.

Nor was it in the matter of salary alone that parental cooperation was woefully lacking. Orbilius wrote, in Greek, a book entitled *On the Woes of a School Teacher*, or, as some prefer to render the title, *The Very Sorrowful Man*, in which he set forth his complaints on the wrongs done the teacher through the indifference of parents and their misdirected ambitions for their offspring³. Valerius Cato wrote a book called *Indignation*⁴, which may have treated of the same subject-matter.

The doctrine of soft pedagogy and the paradox of the parent who expects his child to attain the maximum of erudition with the minimum of effort are not phenomena confined to the present day and generation. The attitude of the parents had wrought the complete demoralization of the Schools of Rhetoric, according to the account of Petronius⁵, who wrote in the third quarter of the first century A. D. The student Encolpius takes it upon himself to tell the teacher Agamemnon what he thinks of the Schools of Rhetoric of that time:

I believe that college makes complete fools of our young men, because they see and hear nothing of ordinary life there. It is pirates standing in chains on the beach, tyrants pen in hand ordering sons to cut off their fathers' heads, oracles in time of pestilence demanding the blood of three virgins or more, honey-balls of phrases, every word and act besprinkled with poppy-seed and sesame. People who are fed on this diet can no more be sensible than people who live in kitchens can be savoury. With your permission I must tell you the truth, that you teachers more than anyone else have been the ruin of true eloquence. Your tripping, empty, tones stimulate certain absurd effects into being, with the result that the substance of your speech languishes and dies.

Agamemnon does not allow this aspersion upon his profession to go unchallenged, but proceeds to set Encolpius aright as to the true source of the difficulty:

Your talk has an uncommon flavour, young man, and what is most unusual, you appreciate good sense. I will not therefore deceive you by making a mystery of my art. The fact is that the teachers are not to blame for these exhibitions. They are in a madhouse, and they must gibber. Unless they speak to the taste of their young masters they will be left alone in the colleges, as Cicero remarks. Like the toadies cadging after the rich man's dinner, they think first about what is calculated to please their audience. They will never gain their object unless they lay traps for the ear. A master of oratory is like a fisherman: he must put the particular bait on his hook which he knows will tempt the little fish, or he may sit waiting on his rock with no hope of a catch. Then what is to be done? It is the parents who should be attacked for refusing to allow their children to profit by stern discipline. To begin with they consecrate even their young hopefuls, like everything else, to ambition. Then if they are in a hurry for the fulfilment of their

³Suetonius, *De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus* 9. The manuscripts read *perialogos* and *perialepos*.

⁴Ibidem, 11.

⁵Satyricon 1-2. I quote from the translation of Heseltine (Loeb Classical Library, London, 1913).

vows, they drive the unripe schoolboy into the law courts, and thrust eloquence, the noblest of callings, upon children who are still struggling into the world.

The teacher was expected to keep a strict censorship on the moral conduct of his pupils, yet what attention to moral instruction was paid in the home? Says Quintilian (1.2.6):

'That soft upbringing, which we call indulgence, breaks all the sinews of mind and body. What wanton desires will that boy not have when grown who has learned to creep in purple wrappings? Before he has spoken his first words he understands the meaning of *cook*, and knows how to ask for oysters. We start training their palates before we do their moral conduct. They grow up in baby-buggies, and, if they are allowed to touch the floor, there is someone on each side of them to keep them from falling. We are pleased if they make some saucy remark. Words which should not be tolerated even from our favorite slaves we welcome from our children with smiles and kisses. Do not wonder at this! We have taught them. They hear these words from us. They see our mistresses and concubines: every banquet is filled with obscene songs; things are seen which we ought to be ashamed even to talk about. From this environment habits are formed, and then character. The poor little children learn such things before they know they are vices; then released from the home and starting to school, they do not contract these faults from the schoolroom but bring them into the schoolroom'.

Similar is the testimony of Tacitus (Dialogus 29):

'The children are turned over to the care of slaves who are incompetent for any serious service. Their parents do not train their little ones in goodness and self-control, but in wantonness and pertness, which gradually grow into insolence and disregard both of self and others . . .'

With such indifference in the home, need we wonder that, while in the latter days of the Republic Orbilius *plagius* inspired a wholesome fear of the rod within the young Horace, one hundred and fifty years later, in the time of Juvenal, Rufus and other teachers were beaten by their pupils?

Though the parents were willing to pay the teachers nothing, yet they expected them to know everything. When the weary schoolmaster after his hard day's labor would be hurrying to the bath for a little recreation, they would stop him, and ask such absurd questions as 'Who was the nurse of Anchises?', 'What was the name and nationality of the stepmother of Anchemolus?', 'How many years did Aestes live?', 'How many flagons of wine did the Sicilians give to the Trojans?'⁶. The Emperor Tiberius, too, was fond of putting grammarians to the test by posing such questions as 'Who was the mother of Hecuba?', 'What name did Achilles go by when in hiding among the daughters of the king of Scyros?', 'What was the song the Sirens used to sing?'⁷. All these were things *quae erant dediscenda, si scires*, as Seneca (Epist. 88.37) says. Small wonder that Quintilian (1.8.21), looking back upon a long and successful teaching career, was

forced to exclaim, *Mihi inter virtutes grammatici habebitur aliqua nescire!*

What of the social position of the Roman teacher? In the midst of his poverty and his disappointments could he console himself by the thought that he occupied a position of trust and respect in his community? Could he in his academic seclusion feel that his poverty was at least a genteel one?—a consolation, I fancy, which we teachers of to-day are sometimes wont to seek. Here is the significant answer in two verses of Juvenal (7.197-198): 'If Fortune wills you will rise from School teacher to consul; if this same Fortune wills a man will sink from consul to School teacher'. School teacher to consul, and consul to School teacher—here we have the upper and the lower rungs of the social ladder. The younger Pliny tells us that Valerius Licinianus experienced such a reverse of fortune that he became an exile instead of a senator, and a teacher of rhetoric instead of an orator. As a rhetorician in Sicily he opened his first lecture with the bitter words: *Quos tibi, Fortuna, ludos facis? facis enim ex professoribus senatores, ex senatoribus professores*⁸. Marcus Epidius, who boasted his descent from an Italian god, when he had fallen into disgrace by committing perjury, felt that the only way left for him to make a living was by opening a School of Public Speaking⁹.

We do not have to look far for the underlying cause of this stigma attached to the teaching profession, and it is not particularly flattering to the Romans. When this warlike and uncultivated people first turned its attention to the systematic education of its youth, the slaves from Greece and other countries of the East were the only ones that possessed sufficient erudition to give the instruction. Quintus Catulus, towards the close of the second century B. C., purchased a *grammaticus* for about \$30,000¹⁰, which the elder Pliny says is the highest price he ever knew to be paid for a single slave¹¹. Slaves of culture and education, when they obtained their freedom, would open Schools, and thus the teaching profession, like that of medicine and many other callings now regarded as highly respectable, was limited to the despised class of libertini or freedmen. As the elder Seneca says (Controversiae 2, Praef.), *minime probabili more turpe erat docere quod honestum erat discere*. Of the twenty-five grammarians and rhetoricians whose lives have been preserved in the little work of Suetonius thirteen had at one time been slaves; some of them had experienced slavery in its most degrading forms, as Staberius Eros, who was brought from across the seas and sold in Rome at public auction, or Voltacilius Plotus, or Pitholaus (his cognomen is uncertain), who was said to have served as doorkeeper and to have been chained to his post in accordance with the older Roman custom. So common was it to regard all teachers as libertini that Valerius Cato

⁶Pliny, Epist. 4.11.1.

⁷Suetonius, De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus 28.

⁸Ibidem, 3.

⁹Pliny, N. H. 7.128. Pliny gives the name of M. Scaurus as the purchaser.

¹⁰Juvenal, 7.229 ff.

¹¹Suetonius, Tiberius 70.

in his book, *Indignation*, was forced to defend his free birth against the attacks of the malignant, who tried to make out that he was the freedman of some Gaul¹². Those teachers who did not suffer with the brand of servile birth almost without exception labored under the handicap of having been born outside of Italy or at least outside of Rome, a circumstance scarcely pardonable to the proud Roman, at any rate in the earlier days.

The lot of the Roman School teacher as I have depicted it was certainly a hard one, and no doubt you are asking yourselves if they were all utterly wretched, if there were not even the exceptions which prove the rule. To be sure there were, for does not Juvenal say that if Fortune wills you may be exalted from School teacher to consul? Suetonius tells us that in the earlier days the study of rhetoric became a sort of fad in Rome, and a very large number of professors and teachers flocked to the city and prospered to such an extent that many of them used their profession as a stepping-stone to rise from the lowest rank of society to the senatorial order and highest political offices¹³. In the later days of the Empire it does not seem to have been so difficult for teachers to secure high political recognition. The Emperor Pertinax once kept a Grammar School. Eugenius, who was set up as Emperor of the West in 392 A. D., was a rhetorician. Ausonius, a teacher of rhetoric, was made consul by his former pupil Gratian.

When we read of the money made by teachers in certain isolated cases, we may be inclined to wish that we had been teaching in Rome. Verrius Flaccus received about four thousand dollars a year for instructing the grandsons of the Emperor Augustus¹⁴; and we are not dealing with fifty-cent dollars. Antonius Gniphio, a teacher of Julius Caesar, never set any fixed price for his services, but found it more profitable to trust to the liberality of his pupils¹⁵. Of course he lived long before the time of Juvenal.

Yet we hear of still greater marvels. If we may attempt to read sense into a very corrupt text, Lucius Apuleius in the early part of the first century B. C. was hired for sixteen thousand dollars a year to teach grammar in the large and flourishing Spanish city of Osca¹⁶.

The plutocrat among Roman School teachers seems to have been Quintus Remmius Palaemon¹⁷. In spite of his servile birth, and his gross immorality, which caused the Emperors Tiberius and Claudius to declare that nobody was less fitted than he to instruct the youth of the metropolis, he realized sixteen thousand dollars a year from his School and about the same amount from other enterprises. In addition to

his School he ran a clothing-store, and owned a farm which he developed to a degree of productivity that excited the wonder and the envy of his neighbors. In spite of his large income, Suetonius tells us, he scarcely met his expenditures, so luxurious was his standard of living.

Marcus Fabius Quintilianus, however, from his own day to the present time has held undisputed claim to first place among the teachers of Rome. 'Quintilian, great tutor of the wayward youth, glory of the Roman toga art thou, Quintilian', is the tribute paid him by Martial (2.90.1-2). A native of Calagurris in Spain, he devoted the best years of his life to the teaching of rhetoric in Rome under the reigns of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian. His work on *The Education of an Orator*, full of precepts of sound common sense for teachers and pupils of all time, written in a vivacious and sparkling style, a veritable treasure-house of information with regard to Roman education and antiquities in general, inimitable in its pointed criticisms of Greek and Roman authors, is a classic which deserves far more attention than is commonly given it to-day. Quintilian was the first Roman teacher to conduct a School supported by the State. Incredible as it may seem, up to the time of Vespasian all Schools at Rome were privately operated. Vespasian, according to Suetonius, established a yearly salary of four thousand dollars to be paid from the public treasury to teachers of Greek and Latin declamation. Naturally not all teachers were fortunate enough to profit by this arrangement. Quintilian seems to have enjoyed the respect and the admiration of his contemporaries; his numerous estates were a matter of comment; and, finally, he is the exemplification of Juvenal's dictum, for he was invested with the insignia and the rank of consul by the Emperor Domitian.

For Juvenal (7.190 ff.), Remmius Palaemon was an example of the supremely lucky grammarian, and Quintilian of the supremely lucky rhetorician¹⁸.

'Pass by these examples of strange and capricious fates. The lucky man is handsome and spirited; the lucky man is wise and high-born; he wears the appendage of the crescent upon his shoe of costly black leather; the lucky man is also a great orator and lancer of the shafts of rhetoric, and, if he has caught cold, he sings so sweetly. It makes all the difference in the world what constellation takes you under its tutelage when you are born . . . But that lucky man is rarer than the white crow'.

It would seem that with a few notable exceptions Suetonius's words in regard to Orbilius held good even with the most successful of Roman teachers (and I may add, with teachers of all ages): *docuerunt maiore fama quam emolumento*. Let us not forget, however, that the teacher was not deprived of that intangible reward which comes from within, from the love of one's profession and from the consciousness of duty faithfully performed, 'that everlasting reward which is not subjected to the caprices of fortune'¹⁹.

¹²Suetonius, *De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus* 11.

¹³*Ibidem*, 25.

¹⁴*Ibidem*, 17.

¹⁵*Ibidem*, 7.

¹⁶*Ibidem*, 3. As an emendation of Codd. Ottobonianus 1455 and Vindobonensis 711. *multoscedo doceret* (*multos edoceret*, cett.), I propose *ut Oscae doceret*. I have defended this at length in my doctoral dissertation, *De Fragmenti Suetoniani De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus Codicum Nexu et Fide*, to be published in the University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature. Compare Plutarch, Sertorius 14.

¹⁷*Ibidem*, 23.

¹⁸See E. G. Sihler, *Quintilian of Calagurris*, *American Journal of Philology* 41.215.

¹⁹Quintilian 1.12.18.

Quintilian says (I.12.17), 'I do not care for anyone even to read my book who is going to calculate how much money his studies will bring him'.

As a classicist in this age of crass commercialism, I find a warm spot in my heart for the old Roman grammarian Valerius Probus. Finding copies of the works of Plautus and others of the most ancient Latin authors, the memory of whom had been entirely obliterated at Rome, he began to read and reread them diligently, and then to search for other copies. Finally, with no other inducement than his love for his work, he devoted his life to the emendation and the annotation of these old and despised authors, though he realized full well that they were *magis opprobrio legentibus quam gloriae et fructus*²⁰.

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

RODNEY P. ROBINSON

DE REGE ET RUSTICA

Characters: King Alfred (A.); Rustica, a peasant woman (R.); a soldier (M.).

Scene: the kitchen of a herdsman's cottage in England, about 871 A. D. The herdsman's wife is discovered tending her fire, and sweeping the hearth.

R.—Semper cineres in foco; cotidie lapidem rado, sed cotidie pulvis venit. (*She fetches a board from the table at the left, on which are some little pats of dough ready to be baked*). Veni, panis parve; inter cineres caldus eris! (*She puts one among the ashes. A knock is heard; she puts the board back on the table, and looks towards the door, hesitating fearfully*). Quis est? Tot hostes in vicinia sunt ut ianuam aperire timeam. (*The knock is repeated more insistently; going reluctantly to the door, she opens it, and retreats hastily to the far side of the room. Enter A.*).

R.—Quis es?

A.—Indigens sum, sine amicis, sine patria. (*He is evidently distraught*).

R.—Quidnam vis? Nos quoque pauperes sumus.

A.—Requiescere paucas horas hac in coquina mihi liceat, et tecum vesperi cenare.

R.—Sane. Sed cena nostra pauper est: hodie panem modo habebimus. Sed libenter panem tecum dividemus.

A.—Gratias ago.

R.—In hac sella conside, et panes parvos quos in cineres imponam tuere. Prohibe eos flagrare. (*She bustles around, putting the cakes into the ashes*). Ad maritum ibo, nam fortasse ad cenam caseum et carnem emere poterit. Noli pati parvos panes flagrare! (*As she says the last words, she puts on her hooded cape,*

and goes out, leaving the King sitting by the fire, and watching the cakes. Presently, he becomes absent-minded, rises from his chair, and walks up and down).

A.—Quid faciam? Rex sine corona sum. Exercitus meus pulsus est, et barbari ad portas ipsas Londini adsunt. Milites mei, rege amisso, dispersi fugiunt. Me miserum! Cur Deus me regem fecit? (*After walking up and down a moment more, wringing his hands in silence, he sits down on the chair, but with his back to the fire; he straddles the chair, and drops his head on his arms. After a while, he ejaculates the following disjointed sentences*). Homo timidus et ignavus sum; regno non sum dignus. Ei mihi, quid faciam? (*He sits sunk in despair, his head still on his arms. Rustica, entering, sniffs the air, then rushes to the fireplace, and rakes out the charred cakes*).

R.—Flagrare, ingrate, panes passus es! (*She shows them, all burnt and spoiled, to him*). Stulte, improbe, inepte! (*She shakes her finger in his face*). Nulla cena hic hodie vesceris. Nihil vel ego vel tu vel maritus meus edet. (*She turns to the fireplace, crying, and wiping her eyes on her apron*).

A.—Eheu! ignosce mihi, oblitus sum. (*She ignores him. He turns away with a gesture of despair*). Perniciem ubique mecum traho. Odiosus deo sum. Utinam me mors vincat. (*A knock is heard; then a soldier enters hurriedly, and kneels beside the King. Rustica turns round in astonishment*).

M.—Salve, rex nobilissime. Tempore opportunissimo te invenio, namque Roberti exercitus ducis de septentrionibus auxilio nobis venit.

A.—Deus sit laudatus!

M.—Multi milites iam in castris se congregant et te expectant.

A.—(*inspired*). Venio. Fortuna non semper est adversa. Nunc secundam se monstrat, et auxilium eius, deae mutabilis, maximo cum gaudio accipimus.

R.—(*She has been standing transfixed by the hearth, but now runs forward, and kneels beside the King, plucking his mantle timidly. But the king hastens to get his cap, which he had left by the door, and his cloak, which he put on the table. As he passes the soldier, he says, in a tone of command, Veni, and motions with his head towards the door. Then he sees Rustica, still kneeling, and lifts her up as she finishes the following speech*). Mei, rex clementissime, miserere, mihi parce. Te non cognovi; mihi ignosce.

A.—(*smiling, as he lifts her up*)—Verba tua merui, panem enim destrui. De castris aliquid mittam ut edatis. Flagrati panis obliviscere; regem modo quem adiuvisti memoria tene. Nunc vale; ad exercitum ibo, ut victoriam petam. (*He lifts his hand in a gesture of farewell, and goes to the door, which the soldier is holding open. As he goes out, he turns again, and waves his hand to Rustica*).

R.—(*looking ecstatically at the hand by which the King had lifted her from her knees*) Haec manus regem tangebant! Hi oculi regem videbant! Etiam si nullam cenam habebam, beata sum!

MILDRED DEAN

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²⁰Suetonius, De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus 24.²¹Reference may be made to two papers on Quintilian, An Ancient Schoolmaster's Message to Present-Day Teachers, by Charles E. Bennett, in The Classical Journal 4.149-164, and Quintilian, The Schoolmaster, by Gordon J. Laing, in The Classical Journal 15.515-534.

REVIEWS

Dynamic Symmetry: the Greek Vase. By Jay Hambidge. New Haven and New York: Yale University Press (1920). Pp. 161. \$6.00.

For some years Mr. Jay Hambidge has supplemented his strictly artistic work with a mathematical study of the construction of Greek artistic products. He has presented his theories, from time to time, in various series of public lectures; he has illustrated his principles before schools of design and has expounded them to select disciples. Moreover he edits and writes a periodical, called *The Diagonal*, in which the principles of the theory are developed and applied.

The present volume is the outgrowth of lectures delivered at Yale University on the Trowbridge Foundation, and is the first work published by the Trowbridge Memorial Publication Fund. Mr. Hambidge begins his study with a brief statement of the difference between dynamic (or active) and static (or passive) symmetry. Static symmetry, to which a short final chapter is devoted, consists of the recurrence in design of a single element, such as the square or the equilateral triangle, and is found commonly in Saracenic, Byzantine, Norman, and Gothic art. Dynamic symmetry, which was known only to the Egyptians and to the Greeks, is the principle of the establishment of the "relationship of areas in design-composition".

Mr. Hambidge's thesis, then, is that the principle of Greek design rests on this interrelationship of areas, even though the lines concerned may be, and commonly are, incommensurable. The mathematical elements are set forth in the first three chapters of the book, and are interpreted by the analysis of rectangles. The simplest illustration is found in the case of a rectangle where the square constructed on the end is exactly one-half, in area, of the square constructed on the side. The relationship between these end and side lines of the rectangle, however, is numerically represented by 1 and $1.4142+$, which is the square root of two. Thus it is seen that the relationship in line is incommensurable, while, expressed in area, it is perfectly commensurable. A similar proportionate relationship occurs in connection with rectangles where the area of the square constructed on the side is three times, four times, five times, etc., the area of the square on the end, and such rectangles are called respectively root three, root four, root five, etc., rectangles. The numerical relation between the end and the side of a root five rectangle is expressed by 1 and 2.236 , which is the square root of five. Closely related to the root five rectangle is a rectangle, the relationship of whose end and side is as 1 to 1.618 . This is the proportionate relationship between the figures of a summation series, and is the normal law for leaf distribution on plants. A rectangle constructed on these proportions possesses extraordinary symmetrical qualities, and is called by Mr. Hambidge the rectangle of the whirling squares. The square root of five, 2.236 , is $1.618+.618$, that is, the root

five rectangle equals, in area, a whirling square rectangle plus its reciprocal. The root five rectangle is regarded as the base of dynamic symmetry.

These are all simple, well-known, mathematical principles. Mr. Hambidge's achievement is the application of these principles to the analysis and interpretation of Greek design. The present work is concerned only with one class of products, vases, and the subsequent chapters are devoted to diagrammatical analysis of many examples in various museums. Almost all the measurements were made or checked by officers at these several museums, so that the possibility of mechanical error is minimized. The results are, indeed, amazing. An ordinary Greek vase of usual graceful shape is found to be constructed on an elaborate system of interrelated squares and rectangles with their reciprocals, and diagonals with their perpendiculars, etc., all with a degree of accuracy that is rather appalling to common human nature with its obtrusive frailties. The apprentices and slaves of Greek potters with uniform skill seem to have followed impeccable models, without variation from exactitude by so much as a jot or a tittle.

Mr. Hambidge is applying these same mathematical principles more widely in the study of Greek design, and for the past year has been making, in Greece itself, an analysis of the construction of the Greek temple. The development of his results will be awaited with great interest. In the meantime the elements here enunciated are being taught in various schools of design, and are being practiced with most pleasing success in the workshops of some modern commercial studios. It will be an inestimable boon to modern design if the proportion and symmetry, so characteristic in common Greek products, can be again freely produced. Mr. Hambidge has done a great service in pointing out the means to this end. He has also been instrumental in attracting the interest of wider circles than usual to the perfection of Greek design. The student of Greek archaeology will peruse with great care the principles stated and the analyses explained, and, moreover, as mathematics is an exact science, each student can test for himself, to his own complete satisfaction, the applicability of the principles of dynamic symmetry to any particular case with which he may be concerned.

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Titus Pomponius Atticus: Chapters of a Biography. A Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of Bryn Mawr College. By Alice Hill Byrne. Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania (1920). Pp. viii + 103.

The brief biography of Atticus by Nepos is careless in its handling of fact, deficient in psychological penetration, and characterized by sweeping generalizations which cannot be taken literally. Nevertheless, it has the value of a work by a contemporary of Atticus and contains passages that seem to echo conversations of its author with Atticus. The chief

source for Atticus's life is, of course, the Letters of Cicero. When all allowances are made, "the letters remain one of the most sincere and frank of extant human documents" (vii). It is a "fair inference" that, in the speeches assigned to Atticus in Cicero's dialogues, the author would not make Atticus express opinions and ideas at variance with those he actually held. Of the modern authorities Drumann's chapter (*Geschichte Roms*, 5.5-87; revised by Groebe) is erudite, "invaluable as an index but of small value as an interpretation" (vii). Ungherini and Boissier have been influenced too much by Drumann. The biography of Atticus by Peter, in his *Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae*, the monographs of Münzer on the literary works of Atticus, the studies of Cicero by Strachan-Davidson and Sihler, are good. The above are the main conclusions of Dr. Byrne in regard to her material. She acknowledges also a great debt to the edition of Cicero's Letters, by Tyrrell and Purser.

Three chapters follow her Introduction. They deal successively with Atticus as Man of Business (1-22), Atticus as Man of Letters (23-51), and Atticus in Politics (52-102). In the first chapter we find Atticus engaged in financial and business affairs of a size and scope impressive even when measured by modern standards. In the light of a business career like that of Atticus, we realize the shallowness of the view held by certain economists, that 'capitalism' is a purely modern phenomenon. As banker and broker, real estate owner and agent, Atticus appears to have conducted in Rome something in the nature of a modern trust company. He was an agriculturist and stock raiser on his great Epirote estate, a merchant at least in highly trained slaves, and, as is well known, a publisher. In these activities he appears as usual as a "friend of all the world", performing for his friends many exacting commissions apparently without compensation and freely lending vast sums. Cicero, who had a high standard of business honor, assumes in his letters a similar standard in Atticus. Atticus desired for the provinces a good 'business administration' which should safeguard property and protect the creditor class, but at the same time protect the provincials from oppression. He had many investments in the provinces and lent money to the provincial cities.

The chapter on Atticus as Man of Letters brings home the fact that Atticus, if Cicero's inferior in genius, was at least his equal in culture. The extent to which Cicero, while he was writing his works, leaned upon the literary judgment and taste of Atticus is striking in a man so vain as the orator. The education of the two friends appears to have been along the same lines. As a young man Atticus visited Athens and developed there the enthusiasm for Greek art and literature that earned for him his surname. The quotations in Cicero's letters (compare the interesting list on page 30) show that Cicero assumes in Atticus a wide acquaintance with both Greek and Latin poets. In Athens Atticus frequented the

gardens of Epicurus. Epicurus's scientific explanation of the world as well as his philosophy of conduct appealed to a temperament not greatly prone apparently to mysticism or passion. But Cicero "did not classify Atticus with the confessed hedonists that he counted as representative of the school" (35). Atticus was especially interested in politics and history. He deprecated the lack of literary form, of philosophy and of critical method in Latin historiography, and justly preferred the Greek historians. A list of Atticus's literary works is given (40 ff.). The most important of these was the *Annals*, a history of Rome from the founding of the city, in which special attention was paid to chronology and genealogy. Atticus had apparently the cooperation of Varro in this work. Cicero, in the works he published after the appearance of Atticus's book (in the *Brutus* and the *Academica*, for example, as compared with the earlier *De Re Publica* and *De Oratore*), shows an increased interest in history and chronology which can be ascribed only to the influence of the *Annals* (compare 40 ff., and the notes, especially the references to Münzer's article in *Hermes* [1905], 50-100). The *Annals* exerted considerable influence in Atticus's day and in the generations immediately following. Pliny, for instance, quotes Atticus as one of his sources for Books 7 and 33 of his *Natural History*. But the *Annals* had apparently disappeared by the time of Suetonius. In Doctor Byrne's opinion one of the reasons why the work fell into oblivion was that the hopes of Atticus for Roman historiography had been fulfilled. History had taken its place as a literary form, and by the side of the new works a "meager and unadorned work like the *Annals* might easily fail of appreciation" (51).

In the chapter on Atticus in Politics, the author gives in annalistic form a detailed narrative and analysis of Atticus's public activity from 65 to 44 B. C. (inclusive), expressed chiefly through his relations to, and influence on, Cicero. A few facts and general conclusions may be noted. As is well known, Atticus never rose above the equestrian rank and never aspired to public office. He had, however, a keen interest in politics, and definite political ideals, and looked to Cicero to express these ideals in action. Cicero, in the *De Legibus* 3.26-27, makes him profess a "life-long dislike for all popular movements". He was identified with the equestrian class, but in no partisan spirit; he was opposed to unscrupulous class legislation in favor of the equites. He believed in sound administration rather than constitutional reform, "in legislation promoting commerce without arousing class antagonism by favoritism" (57). "In his leadership of the equites, he doubtless urged a policy of moderate demands, efficient public service, honest gains" (57). He cooperated zealously with Cicero in the latter's attempt to effect a *concordia* between the senatorial and the equestrian classes. It is evident that Cicero, in attempting to rally the Optimates against the Triumvirs in 56, was acting against Atticus's advice. Letters of Cicero (4.6; 8.1) seem to indicate that Atticus was advising

cooperation, even subordination, to the Triumvirs, "but that he still felt that Cicero had a peculiar province in the state" (71). By 51 Atticus, like Cicero, had come definitely to regard Caesar as dangerous, and now advised Cicero to withdraw from his connection with Caesar. Atticus had not at first shared Cicero's enthusiasm for Pompey, but we now find him among Pompey's partisans. When the conflict between Caesar and the Senate began, the character of Atticus's advice to Cicero can be inferred from Cicero's letters of December, 50 B. C. 'I really disapprove of opposing Caesar, but my vote shall go with Pompey' (7.6.2), and, a few days later, 'I vote with Gnaeus Pompey, that is with Titus Pomponius' (7.7.7). Atticus clung to the belief that peace with honor could be made between the Optimates and Caesar, but he never wavered in his view that, should peace prove impossible, it was Cicero's duty finally to leave Italy and take his place by the side of Pompey if the latter 'made a stand somewhere' (9.10.7). In 49 Atticus himself, while in Rome, "accommodated himself to the Caesarian régime" (88), but apparently without servility. He took up Cicero's cause with the Caesarians, but was not in a position directly to ask favors from Caesar. He protested against Cicero's retirement from the Forum after Tullia's death, and urged him at least to write political articles. In 44 Atticus joined the group of those who openly rejoiced at the assassination of Caesar, and did what he could to rally a party around Brutus. He distrusted Octavian and warned Cicero against him. It was apparently Atticus who gave Cicero the signal for the publication of the Second Philippic—Cicero's definite declaration of war against Antony. For the remainder of the life of Atticus we are dependent mainly upon the biography of Nepos. How, after the part he had played, he escaped in the proscriptions of the Second Triumvirate is, to the present writer at least, something of a mystery. Apparently he had by his manifold services to his contemporaries garnered so rich a harvest of golden opinions that the Triumvirs thought it wise to spare him. Dr. Byrne thus sums up his influence on Cicero (101-102):

The greatest value of his counsel lay in its constant moral stimulus. If he could not advise great action, he could advise great renunciations. Whether he could have steered himself to recommending martyrdom if he had thought cause and occasion worthy it is not possible to say: he certainly did not want Cicero to suffer martyrdom for the sake of Pompey, nor Brutus at the hands of Antony. But there was in him strength to advise Cicero to put aside proffered advancement for the sake of principle, to insist on work in smaller spheres when he had thus closed to himself the great avenues to prosperity and honors, and through years of such work to supply him with patience, courage and a sense of accomplishment.

In this work the author has effected a synthesis of facts already familiar—always a service in a study so divided among specialists as that of Roman antiquity—and she has contributed many valuable ideas and observations of her own. Her exploitation of the source material seems thorough. Among the modern

authorities cited one misses a few familiar titles (Forsyth's biography of Cicero for instance), but it may be assumed that this is because Dr. Byrne did not regard these works as contributing anything of special value to her study of Atticus.

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Alt Kreta: Kunst und Kunstgewerbe in Ägäischen Kulturkreise. By Helmuth Th. Bossert. Berlin: Wasmuth (1921). Pp. 66. 272 Illustrations.

This beautiful and elaborately illustrated work has just reached this country and is doubtless destined—on account of its relatively low price no less than of its merits—to enjoy widespread popularity. It should, in particular, be of preeminent service to teachers of courses in Aegean civilization.

The introductory portion presupposes a somewhat detailed knowledge on the part of the reader of the main facts attending the life and activities of the Creto-Mycenaean peoples, and consists of a series of essays on Aegean subjects written in a strikingly brilliant and racy style (one finds it hard to believe that, after all, Herr Bossert is not of Gallic origin!). The author discusses such topics as the relation of Aegean art to Etruscan, Babylonian, Egyptian, and Hittite!; Aegean religion as manifested in the artistic remains, Does the oriental or the occidental element predominate in early Crete and the Islands?; What is the position of the female in the Aegean religion and State? Then, after the introduction of a chronological table—which is, however, scarcely up to date in its nomenclature—a section of the book is devoted to the presentation of a valuable list of sources of information regarding Crete and her peoples, derived from Egyptian, Babylonian, and Biblical originals.

The illustrations, which cover more than two hundred consecutive pages, are of uniform style and are uncolored. They comprise the entire field, and include topographical plans, architecture, painting, sculpture in relief and in the round, pottery, sword-blades, gold ornaments, and seals. There appear also some examples of Cretan script, including the Phaistos Disk, and a series of monuments from Egypt which are of Cretan origin or bear strong indications of Cretan influence. The arrangement of this illustrative material is far in advance of that of the ordinary handbook and cannot be too highly commended. A preceding section of the text (though, somewhat curiously, not immediately preceding) furnishes such details as the provenance of each work of art shown, its present location, and, generally, a statement of its original publication.

The book is not altogether free from inconsistencies and small errors, particularly in its references to English publications; notwithstanding, it is undoubtedly the best work of its size on this subject that has yet appeared.

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